

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 NEA-10

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-13 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01 ACDA-19

RSR-01 /150 W

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R 291830 Z JUN 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 665

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3133

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: ALLIED COORDINATION AND CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS

REF: A) VIENNA 5228; B) USNATO 3039

SUBMMARY: BELGIAN DEL NOW EXPECTS TO SUBMIT PAPER ON ALLIED COORDINATION AND CONDUCT OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS IN MID- JULY. BELGIANS RELUCTANT TO CONSULT WITH U. S. ON TEXT OF PAPER PRIOR TO CIRCULATION. ACCORDING TO BELGIAN COUNSELOR WILLOT, WHO WROTE DRAFT NOW BEING REVIEWED IN FONOFF, PAPER IS LIKELY TO: 1) EXPRESS PREFERENCE FOR OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUPS AND RESERVATIONS ABOUT USE OF EMISSARIES; 2) PROPOSE THAT ANY FOUR OF ALL 19 PARTICIPANTS, RATHER THAN ANY SINGLE DIRECT PARTICIPANT, BE EMPOWERED TO CONVENE PLENARY MEETING; 3) SUGGEST THAT SYG' S REP SERVE AS CHAIRMAN OF AD HOC GROUP; AND 4) STIPULATE THAT ALL QUESTIONS NOT SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED IN AD HOC GROUP, INCLUDING TACTICAL MATTERS, CONFIDENTIAL

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BE REFERRED TO NAC. U. S. MISOFF EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT MANY OF WILLOT' S POINTS AND OBSERVED THAT SEVERAL SEEMED TO RUN COUNTER TO UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED BETWEEN BELGIANS AND U. S. MBFR REP IN DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS ON JUNE 20. WE PROPOSE TO

PURSUE QUESTIONNS AT A HIGHER LEVEL. END SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING UP ON REFTELS, U. S. MISOFF MET WITH BELGIAN COUNSELOR WILLOT ON JUNE 28 AND INQUIRED ABOUT STATUS OF BELGIAN PAPER ON ALLIED COORDINATION AND PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS. WILLOT SAID DRAFT, WHICH HE HAD PREPARED, WAS NOW BEING COORDINATED WITHIN BELGIAN GOVERNMENT AND MIGHT SUBSEQUENTLY BE CLEARED WITH BENELUX PARTNERS. THUS PAPER WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE CIRCULATED FORMALLY IN NATO BEFORE MIDDLE OF JULY. MISOFF ASKED IF U. S. REPS COULD BE SHOWN COPY OF DRAFT IN ACCORDANCE WITH UNDERSTANDING AT TIME OF U. S. MBFR REP DEAN'S JUNE 20 VISIT (PARA 8 OF REF A), IN HOPES OF REACHING COMMON U. S.- BELGIAN VIEW PRIOR TO FULL DISCUSSION IN COUNCIL. WILLOT CLAIMED THAT HE HAD CONTACTED DE STAERCKE, ANDRIANENSSEN AND DAVIGNON, NONE OF WHOM ADMITTED AWARENESS OF AN UNDERSTANDING TO CONFER WITH U. S. PRIOR TO CIRCULATION. HE DOUBTED THAT BELGIAN NATO DELEGATION WOULD HAVE ANY OPTION TO ALTER TEXT WHEN HE RECEIVED IT BACK FROM FONMIN. HOWEVER, HE WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS, ON PERSONAL BASIS GENERAL POINTS THAT HE HAD PROPOSED FOR INCLUSION IN PAPER.

2. CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS - MISOFF ASKED HOW BELGIANS PROPOSED TO ADDRESS USE OF SMALLER GROUPS FOR NEGOTIATIONS OUTSIDE OF PLENARIES. WILLOT REPLIED THAT HIS DRAFT HAD STATED, IN GENERAL TERMS, THAT PLENARIES SHOULD BE NORMAL FORUM FOR NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT ANY SUPPLEMENTARY " GROUPS OR BODIES" SHOULD BE COMMISSIONED BY AND RESPONSIBLE TO PLENARIES. DRAFT ALSO STATED THAT EMISSARIES SHOULD NOT BE USED AS SUBSTITUTE FOR THE SPECIFIC FUNCTIONS OF PLENARY MEETINGS. FOR INFORMAL WORKING ARRANGEMENTS TO SUPPLEMENT PLENARIES, WILLOT SAID HIS DRAFT PROPOSED THAT PREFERENCE BE GIVEN TO OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUPS IN WHICH ALL PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE OPTION TO BE REPRESENTED, WHETHER OR NOT THEY CHOSE TO EXERCISE THIS OPTION.

3. WILLOT EXPLAINED THAT THESE PROPOSED PRECEPTS WERE NOT INTENDED TO FORECLOSE USE OF SMALL, CLOSED GROUPS OR EMISSARIES FOR SOME SPECIFIC OR LIMITED PURPOSE. HE CITED AS AN EXAMPLE BELGIAN CONCURRENCE IN USE IN EXPLORATIONS OF SMALL DESIGNATED GROUPS FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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TRANSLATION OF FORMAL DOCUMENTS.

4. U. S. MISOFF OBSERVED THAT WILLOT'S FORMULATIONS ON EMISSARY SYSTEM SEEMED UNDULY NEGATIVE AND RESTRICTIVE, AND SUGGESTED THAT PAPER INCLUDE A POSITIVE STATEMENT ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF USING EMISSARIES IN NEGOTIATIONS IN APPROPRIATE CIRCUMSTANCES. IN THIS CONNECTION, MISOFF RECALLED THAT AHG DURING JANUARY MEETINGS IN BURSSELS HAD SPECIFICALLY APPROVED USING AN ALLIED EMISSARY FOR PROCEDURAL DISCUSSIONS WITH EAST.

5. WILLOT CONTENTED THAT INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF EMISSARY SYSTEM WOULD BE TO ADVANTAGE FOR SOVIETS IN THREE RESPECTS;

A. SOVIET REPS WITH FEW EFFECTIVE OBLIGATIONS TO THEIR ALLIES COULD OPERATE WITH WIDE LATITUDE IN EMISSARY DISCUSSIONS, WHILE WESTERN REPS WERE OBLIGED TO STICK TO AD HOC GROUP MANDATE. OVER THE LONG RUN, THIS WOULD PROVE TO BE STRAIN ON ALLIED EMISSARIES AND ON THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH AD HOC GROUP, AND SOVIETS COULD EXPLOIT SITUATION.

B. U. S. HAD OFTEN SAID AND PRESUMABLY BELIEVED THAT MBFR IS A GENUINE MULTILATERAL EXERCISE. HOWEVER, FACT THAT U. S. REP WAS ONLY ONE OF ALLIED REPS IN VIENNA THAT HAD CONSISTENTLY ATTENDED EMISSARY MEETINGS GAVE AN IMPRESSION OF BILATERALISM. CONTINUING THIS SYSTEM WOULD BE PLAYING INTO SOVIET HANDS IN THIS RESPECT.

C. EMISSARY SYSTEM HAD SINCE MAY 14 INVOLVED ONLY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON PACT SIDE. RELYING ON EMISSARIES IN NEGOTIATIONS WOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR ALLIES TO INVOLVE HUNGARY AND BRING IT INTO AN EVENTUAL MBFR AGREEMENT.

6. MISOFF OBSERVED THAT WILLOT SEEMED TO BE TRYING TO IGNORE FACT OF LIFE THAT SOVIETS WANT TO DO BUSINESS WITH U. S. WAS IT NOT BETTER TO HAVE AN ALLIED REPRESENTATIVE COMMISSIONED BY AD HOC GROUP, ACCOMPANIED BY U. S. REP, THAN TO HAVE U. S. PRESED BY SOVIETS DO BUSINESS WITH THEM ALONE AND MERELY REPORT BACK TO AD HOC GROUP? WILLOT CITED DANGER IN EMISSARY SYSTEM OF CONFUSING U. S. STATEMENTS TO SOVIETS ON BASIS AD HOC GROUP MANDATE WITH U. S. STATEMENTS OF NATIONAL VIEWS; THIS DANGER WOULD NOT ARISE IN BILATERAL MEETINGS. MOREOVER, EMISSARY MEETINGS WERE MERELY A " FIG LEAF" FOR U. S." SOVIET DISCUSSIONS. MISOFF SAID U. S. REP
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WAS CONSTRAINED TO FOLLOW AGREED ALLIED POSITION IN ALL EAST- WEST DISCUSSIONS, WHETHER AS EMISSARY OR NATIONAL REP, AND EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT OTHER ALLIES SHARED BELGIAN VIEW ON THIS POINT.

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NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 NEA-10

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-13 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01 ACDA-19

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R 291830 Z JUN 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 666
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LONDON

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7. CONVENING OF PLENARY MEETINGS- MISOFF SHOWED WILLOT REPORT OF JUNE 27 QUADRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN VIENNA (VIENNA 5384), IN WHICH SOVIETS HAD GIVEN PRELIMINARY VIEW THAT ANY DIRECT PARTICIPANT MIGHT ASK TO CONVENE A PLENARY MEETING. WILLOT SAID THAT THE BELGIAN PAPER WOULD INSTEAD PROPOSE RULE THAT " ANY FOUR" OF THE 19 PARTICIPANTS COULD CONVENE PLENARY MEETING. HE REASONED THAT THIS WOULD BETTER MEET INTERESTS OF ALLIED FLANK COUNTRIES AND MIGHT PROVE SATISFACTORY TO SOVIETS SINCE THEY COULD CONTROL ENOUGH OF THEIR OWN ALLIES (EVEN IF THEY COULD NOT CONTROL ROMANIA) TO PRECLUDE BEING EMBARRASSED BY ANY WARSAW PACT DISSENT. IF ALLIED DIRECT PARTICIPANTS MERELY ACQUIESCED IN SOVIET PROPOSAL, WILLOT FEARED A " REBELLION" BY ALLIED FLANK COUNTRIES. MISOFF SAID THERE SEEMED TO BE LITTLE EVIDENCE OF SUCH A POTENTIAL REBELLION ON THE PART OF THE FLANKS IN LENGTHY AHG DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE OVER PAST TWO WEEKS, AS IT HAD BEEN REPORTED TO USNATO. ALTHOUGH SOME FLANK REPRESENTATIVES HAD PREFERRED OPTION TO HAVE " EACH SID" EMPOWERED TO CALL PLENARIES, FLANKS WERE AMPLY PROTECTED
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IF ANY ONE OF THE SEVEN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON THE NATO SIDE COULD CALL FOR A PLENARY ON THEIR BEHALF. WILLOT AGREED, AND SAID THAT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL MEETS BASIC BELGIAN INTEREST, BUT HE EXPECTED THAT BELGIAN PAPER WOULD NONETHELESS FLOAT HIS ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL. WILLOT IN ANY EVENT STRONGLY OPPOSED " EACH SIDE" FORMULATION, WHICH IN HIS VIEW WOULD MEAN THAT ONLY U. S. AND SOVIETS WOULD EFFECTIVELY BE IN POSITION TO CALL FOR PLENARIES.

8. WILLOT ADDED THAT BELGIAN PAPER WOULD PROBABLY MAKE NO REFERENCE TO IDEA OF HAVING PLENARIES AT REGULARLY SCHEDULED INTERVALS. IN HIS VIEW, IT WOULD BE POINTLESS TO CONVENE PLENARIES, AS IN RECENT WEEKS AT CCD, IF NO SPEAKERS WERE INSCRIBED.

9. CHAIRMANSHIP OF AD HOC GROUP - WILLOT SAID THAT BELGIAN PAPER WOULD PROPOSE TO HAVE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE CHAIR AD HOC GROUP, RATHER THAN NATIONAL REPS IN ROTATION. HE CITED SCHEDULING DIFFICULTIES IN ROTATIONAL SYSTEM AND ANOMALOUS ASPECTS OF PORTUGUESE CHAIRMANSHIP. FOR CONTINUITY AND TO INSURE NEUTRALITY IN AHG DEBATE, BELGIANS BELIEVE IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO HAVE A NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF REP IN CHAIR. HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT BELGIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD FEEL STRONGLY ABOUT THIS ISSUE.

10. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VIENNA AND BRUSSELS - MISOFF REFERRED TO DEAN- DAVIGNON DISCUSSION ON RESOLUTION OF ISSUES IN AD HOC GROUP (PARA 10 OF REF A). AS HE UNDERSTOOD IT, BELGIANS AGREED WITH U. S. MBFR REP THAT ALLIED VIENNA REPS WOULD BREAK OF CONTACTS WITH EAST AND SEEK TO FIND RESOLUTUION WITHIN AD HOC GROUP OF ANY PROCEDURAL ISSUE ON WHICH COUNCIL GUIDANCE WOULD NORMALLY NOT BE CALLED FOR. IF NECESSARY, NATIONAL INSTRUCTIONS COULD OF COURSE BE SOUGHT, BUT PRESUPTION WOULD BE THAT MAJORITY WOULD IN DUE COURSE PREVAIL, IN PREFERENCE TO PROLONGING IMPASSE IN NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WOULD LEAD TO OVERALL WEAKENING OF ALLIED POSITION. WILLOT SAID BELGIANS NOW ACCEPT MOST OF THESE POINTS, BUT STILL BELIEVE THAT ALL UNRESOLVED ISSUES, EVEN TACTICAL QUESTIONS, SHOULD BE REFERRED TO NAC. MISOFF ASKED IF BELGIANS COULD NOT CONTINUE TO ABIDE BY PO/72/413, WHICH RESERVED QUESTIONS OF TACTICAL COORDINATION TO AD HOC GROUP.

11. PRESS POLICY - U. S. MISOFF ASKED IF BELGIANS WOULD ADDRESS THIS TOPIC IN THEIR PAPER, IF ONLY TO RESTATE EARLIER AGREED PRESS CONFIDENTIAL

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POLICY. WILLOT SAID THERE MIGHT BE SOME SENSITIVITIES IN BELGIAN GOVERNMENT TO ANY IMPLIED CRITICISM OF PRESS POLICY DURING EXPLORATIONS, ALTHOUGH HE PERSONALLY SHARED U. S. VIEW THAT AGREED PRESS POLICY SHOULD BE REAFFIRMED. MISOFF SAID U. S. MISHT WISH TO INSERT LANGUAGE ON PRESS POLICY IN PAPER IF BELGIAN TEXT DID NOT ADDRESS SUBJECT.

12. COMMENT: IN LENGTHY DISCUSSION ON CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS SUMMARIZED IN PARAS ABOVE, WILLOT CITED POINT FREQUENTLY MADE BY BELGIAN REPS IN VIENNA, EVEN BEFORE SYG' S CABLES OF MAY 30 AND JUNE 4 (USNATO 2694 AND VIENNA 4641) THAT NAC HAD SPECIFICALLY COMMISSIONED AHG TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS IN PLENARIES. MISOFF ASKED WILLOT TO CITE SOURCE FOR THIS CONTENTION, SHOWING HIM TEXTS OF MARCH 12 AND APRIL 27 NAC GUIDANCE, IN WHICH NO SUCH RECOMMENDATION APPEARS. WILLOT APPEARED SOMWHAT SURPRISED TO HAVE THIS FACT POINTED OUT TO HIM, BUT MAINTAINED THAT CONSENSUS OF COUNCIL, AS IT HAD BEEN REPORTED BY BELGIAN REPS, WAS THAT EXPLORATIONS AFTER MAY 14 SHOULD BE PURSUED IN PLENARIES. U. S. MISOFF AGREED THAT ALL ALLIES HAD BEEN ANXIOUS TO RESOLVE PROCEDURAL DIFFICULTIES SO THAT PLENARIES COULD BE HELD, BUT DID NOT SHARE BELGIAN VIEW THAT ALLIES EXPECTED ALL NEGOTIATIONS THEREAFTER TO BE ACTUALLY CONDUCTED IN PLENARIES. PRENDERGAST

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